613 and Ocha Kudureu (a lineage of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge
614 clan) was older than Bakorokudu, but the younger brothers
571 outgrew their older brothers, and the Bororo made them chiefs. Because of this, he said, the Bororo do not talk about the subclans of these two clans in the framework of older-younger brother relationship but give them special
183 names. It is my opinion that the function of this disagree-
571 ment is to avoid valuing one kind of activity more than the other. And if both kinds of activity are of equal importance, then the brothers who preside over them also have to be of equal importance.

but then, when people drink, they are not responsible for their actions. I could not detect any great concern over what had happened.

Besides, to the Bororo the examples from the mythical past are the rules for today's life, and a knowledgeable man will always find enough examples to justify his behavior. If he is Kiye or Bokodori Echerae, there will be no difficulty in finding precedents for intra-moiety relations. From myths and stories I have recorded four cases in which both partners were Kiye. One case concerns true siblings; four cases concern sexual relationships between Kiye and Badajebage Chebegiwuge (excluding, of course, those sanctioned as yorubodare); and three cases concern relations between Kiye and Bokodori Echerae. In two cases Bokodori Echerae men slept with their clan sisters; one of them also slept with his true sister. The Badajebage Chebegiwuge can find justification for their intraclan relations in the story about Meri (the sun), who had sexual relations with his sister when he was still among the Bororo. The same story will serve the Paiwoe too, because when Meri was on earth he was a member of the Paiwoe clan; later, when he went into the sky, the Badajebage Chebegiwuge saw him first, so he is now regarded as their ancestor.

The Tugarege do not have so many precedents, but, as it was said earlier, they slept with each other when the Echerae were not yet around. And there is also a story which tells of Tori Bugu (Paiwoe) having sexual intercourse with his

father's wife Ikuirago, who belonged to the Apiborege. The ensuing rule is quite clear: you can have sexual relations with whomever pleases you, but, as a civilized man with respect for tradition and a little fear of your yorubodare, you should marry a woman from the opposite moiety.

From the preceding chapters it is clear that the same name denotes equivalence: Bakorokudu the ancestor and Bakorokudu the descendant are equivalent. On the other hand, self-reciprocal terms of address denote equality of status. There are very few self-reciprocal terms like yorubodare in the Bororo language: imeduya or ito inowu between men married to sisters and imedago between women married to the same man. In the first case the distinction between older and younger brother is neutralized, in the second case the distinction between older and younger sister is neutralized. All of these self-reciprocal terms reflect basic equality of the people concerned. In addition, truly great chiefs, regardless of their being from the same or opposite moiety, show their equality by reciprocally calling each other nicknames like pega-pega (bad-bad) or matado (crazy). I often wondered about the meaning of three Bororo stories, each of them dealing with the meeting of persons with the same name: Chenawuyare in the first, Waboreu in the second, and Kuriga in the third. The protagonists, with very little variation, mirror each other. The stories sound quite funny, being full of sentences like: "Kuriga said 'Kuriga' to his companion Kuriga." In a society where the majority

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561 **Life Cycle: Passage from Nature to Culture**

The individual moves from birth to death through different stages, each one as opposed to the preceding as culture is to nature; taken as a continuum they represent the passage from nature to culture. The younger-older brother opposition corresponds to the opposition between the young and the old human being; their equivalence corresponds to the fundamental identity of man in all of his ages. He is small at first, as the younger brothers, then big, as the older [822] brothers. If one grows to be old, his bones will turn black, just as the older brothers are black.

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787 Birth is a natural event, but that it affects society is recognized in the Bororo belief that a child can bring war, disease, or natural disaster to the society. The role that the child is going to play in the destiny of the society is revealed in his parents' dreams. Thus, these dreams determine whether or not one is going to be allowed to live. The bad dreams are usually concerned with the Bororo being killed by Brazilians, or by some enemy tribe, or by animals. [183] One individual should not endanger society. If the dream of the child's mother or father was bad, his umbilical cord will not be cut. He is not allowed to be separated from nature, [764] from his mother, and from the earth. He is not brought into the village but is buried by the women in the jungle. He is